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ABSTRACT

Social problems such as prejudice, discrimination, and societal unfairness are examined from the perspective of their association with language. Research in the psychology of language is reviewed with regard to these issues and with particular reference to the situation in Quebec. The first question addressed is the role that attitudes play both as determiners of the rate of acquisition of a second or foreign language and as outcome effects attributable to the degree of skill or lack of skill attained in the study of the other language. A second issue is the unfairness in educational systems and the connection with language styles and attitudes. The third topic addressed is the decline in interest in the study of foreign languages and the widespread immigration of speakers of other languages. A plan is proposed for sharing languages in the community rather than concentrating on language instruction in the schools. Finally, the demand for social and political independence on the part of cultural and linguistic minorities is looked at in relation to native and second language instruction. One conclusion is that those involved with the psychology of language need to turn their attention to broad sociopolitical issues that impinge on language in society. (AMH)

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The Social Psychology of Language: A Perspective for the 1980s

Wallace E. Lambert

Since the early 'fifties, I have watched the formation of a fraternity of men and women who have in common a serious interest in the social psychology of language. What on the surface seems to unite this diversified, international group of people is an amazement and fascination with language and the powerful influence it has on social life. At a deeper level, however, I notice another, more basic common interest, namely an amazement and concern that the processes of prejudice, discrimination, and other unattractive aspects of social life so often get associated with language. It is this deeper level of unification that shapes my perspective on what directions our subfield will likely take in the future.

From the start of the movement in the fifties, those involved have made substantial contributions and helped give life and structure to a promising new discipline. In this short time span, language and its social accompaniments have been explored from various vantage points so that now we have a healthy store of facts; theories have moved from the homespun, hunch-testing stage to respectable levels of sophistication; and an impressive number of methodologies—as good as anything in the hard sciences—have been carefully and systematically developed. Ingenuity, vitality, and concern have become the hallmarks of the field.

My main argument in this paper is that the practitioners of this new field of inquiry, with their particular perspective, are now well prepared to apply their accumulated skills to stubborn social problems, and I am convinced that this particular perspective, shaped as it is by a focus on language, is invaluable for the solution of these problems. My hope is that the problems we address in the 1980s will reflect the more general concerns of behavioral scientists—prejudice, discrimination, and societal unfairness, that is, the issues that helped unite the fraternity members in the first place. What I propose to do here is to direct your attention to a selection of these old and stubborn social problems which I feel our group is now ready to profitably reexamine because of the new and powerful social psychology of language that has evolved. The selection, of course, is a personal one, presented more as illustration than as crystal-ball reading for the field as a whole. As you will see, the examples range from individual issues, like attitudes, to broader social issues involving

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About the Author

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Wallace Lambert's interests in social and experimental psychology, cross-national studies, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics are reflected in his publications, which include the following titles: *Social Psychology*, a textbook written in collaboration with his brother, William W. Lambert; *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples: A Cross-National Study*, written with Otto Klineberg; three titles written in collaboration with G. Richard Tucker, *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment, French Speaker's Skill with Grammatical Gender: An Example of Rule-Governed Behavior*, and *Tu, Vous, Usted: A Social Psychology of Forms of Address; Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*, written in collaboration with Robert C. Gardner; and *Language, Psychology and Culture: Essays by W.E. Lambert*, edited by A.S. Dill. His most recent work, written with J. Hamers and N. Frasure-Smith, is *Child Rearing Values: A Cross-National Study* (New York: Praeger Publishers, June 1979).

schools, the community, and the whole society. In each case, language is a critical factor. The sixty-four thousand dollar questions, however, are:

- Will we have the courage to seriously confront these problems, equipped as we are now?
- Will we have the persistence to carry through to practical solutions?

Attitudes as Input and Outcome Features of Language Study

First of all, it seems to me that we are now in a good position to take a more comprehensive view of the roles that attitudes play both as determiners or predictors of the rate of skill amassment in a second or foreign language *and* as outcome effects attributable to the degree of skill or lack of skill attained in the study of the other language. So far, we have two separate streams of research on this important issue, one on the determiner or "input" side, and the other on the outcome or "output" side, with only the beginnings of an attempt at integrating the two (Gardner, 1979). Meanwhile, important policy decisions about bilingual education programs and educational attempts to improve second-language competence require that this integration take place soon so that, with the help of such an integration, guidelines and limits can be suggested to policymakers about what can be realistically expected. We need to know, for example, if hostile attitudes toward another ethnolinguistic group hamper acquisition of that group's language, and if successful acquisition actually promotes more friendly attitudes.

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Let me briefly review a sample of the research we can build on in this domain. The need for a social psychology of language learning became apparent to me when O.H. Mowrer in the 'fifties began to examine the emotions involved in the interaction between talking birds and their trainers, and the effects such interaction had on the birds' skill at talk development. At about the same time, Susan Ervin (1954) started her work on the role of emotions and attitudes in the child's first- and second-language development, and Robert Gardner and I began to look at bilingual skill development from the same perspective (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). My work with Gardner, exploratory and factor analytic as it was, convinced us that negative, prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes about another ethnolinguistic group, quite independent of language learning abilities or verbal intelligence, can upset and disturb the motivation needed to learn the other group's language, just as open, inquisitive and friendly attitudes can enhance and enliven the language learning process. We also saw that parental attitudes, positive or negative, are picked up by children, so that the pupils bring a family complex of attitudes to the language class with them. Gardner and Smythe (1975) have gone further in exploring these aspects of attitudes and have found that persistence in language study also hinges in large part on the attitudes the pupil brings to school.

But there is much more to be done in this domain, and we will continue to rely on Gardner and others for more information. For instance, Genesee and Hamayan (1979) working with Grade 1 Anglo-Canadian pupils did not find any neat, simple relationship between attitudes and second-language achievement, indicating that we need to explore the whole developmental course of attitudes as applied to language learning. Furthermore, Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977) and Taylor et al. (1977) extended the domain by studying Francophone Canadians, showing us that attitudes affect language learning in interestingly different ways when considered from the ethnolinguistic minority group's perspective. For example, Taylor, Meynard, and Rheault (1977) found that for French Canadian university students, the learning of English can pose a threat to personal and cultural identity, which can hamper the progress made in learning that language. What is important here is that threats of this sort can lead to suspicion and distrust. Other studies have shown that parents' suspicions and prejudices about outgroups as well as their own group can determine the academic route their children will follow. For example, French Canadian parents who see little value in being French in the North American scene are prone to route their child into an entirely Anglo educational system; whereas if they have hope in the French fact in Canada and pride in being French, they, without hesitation, keep their children in French academic settings and create for them a comfortable French social environment (Frasure-Smith, Lambert, and Taylor, 1975).

On the outcome side, the research pace is just as lively, and in this case too the relationship with prejudiced thinking is just as clear. On the outcome side, one would expect that as skill with the other language evolves, attitudes toward the other ethnolinguistic group should become less suspicious and hostile. This is essentially what Richard Tucker and I found when we studied Anglophone Canadian youngsters who had followed a program of immersion-in-French schooling for four or five years and compared them with control groups who had had conventional English-language schooling only (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). In this case we knew that for both groups the parents' attitudes towards French Canadians were basically the same as of the kindergarten year. By Grade 5, however, the early immersion pupils relative to the controls "liked" French people more, were much more prone to say that they would be "just as happy" had they been born into a French family, and saw themselves as becoming both English and French Canadian in their makeup,

much more so than the comparison children. Apparently, through their language learning experience, much of the foreignness of the other group was dispelled, and they began to appreciate the distinctive and the shared characteristics of the other ethnolinguistic group. But other follow-up studies (cf. Cziko, Lambert, and Gutter, 1979) using different probing techniques and different age levels sometimes replicated and sometimes did not replicate these favorable attitude outcomes—although in no case were the immersion children less favorable to the other group than the controls.

Thus there is unexplained variability here, and this has prompted us to try out various new measures of attitudes, such as multidimensional scaling. In this case we find, as of the end of elementary school, that the early immersion language experience, relative to conventional schooling, seems to reduce the perceived social distance between self and French Canadians (Cziko, Lambert, and Gutter, 1979). In another study using an open-ended questionnaire procedure, we find that the immersion pupils at Grade 6 see English and French Canadians as being less different at the psychological level than do the control pupils (Blake, Lambert, Sidoti, and Wolfe, 1979). Then we have surveyed in detail students' and parents' views of the whole immersion experience by asking graduating high school students, some with immersion schooling experience and some without, to look back and evaluate it all for us (Cziko, Lambert, Sidoti, and Tucker, 1978). Our conclusions from that survey are important here because they lead us to a level of understanding that prompts many new questions about the relation between language learning and attitudes. What we found is that immersion is an extremely effective means of developing high degrees of skill in the French language for Anglo Canadians, and it leaves these young people with a feeling of confidence, that after high school they could work, study, and live effectively in a French environment; that, if given simple opportunities to use French more meaningfully in social situations, they could become fully bilingual. They also expressed a strong willingness and desire to meet and integrate with French-speaking Canadians. Conventional means of teaching the other language do not reach such standards of competence and confidence.

At the same time, however, the analysis brought to light various hurdles that these well-prepared and motivated young people face if they try to penetrate the French world around them in Quebec. Some of these hurdles are very likely rooted in the English-speaking society itself which does not seem to provide models and examples for making contact with French-speaking people. Some of the hurdles are also very likely attributable to the French-speaking society of Quebec, which also does not seem to provide models for encouraging gestures of personal interest coming from English-speaking Canadians. In fact, one begins to wonder how English or French Canadian young people can learn to live cooperatively as Canadians when, for example, the schools they have attended have been segregated along religious and linguistic lines for generations. In such conditions, Canadian young people can reasonably ask why it is that their society apparently does *not want* them to learn the other language or to get to know members of the other ethnolinguistic group. Incidentally, in an important large-scale investigation with French Canadian secondary school students, Gagnon (1972) found that the vast majority thought that it was only natural for both French and English Canadians to learn each other's language, and that, in their views, the language would best be learned through schooling plus personal contacts. Over 70 percent of Gagnon's sample said they would be very appreciative of occasions to visit English-language settings. Thus, in today's Quebec, young people from both Francophone and Anglophone backgrounds might wonder why society makes it so difficult for them to learn the other language or make social contacts with the other group.

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Because hurdles of this sort are very likely a major source of frustration, it is important that educators and policymakers give thought to helping these young people understand their society and letting them have a hand in improving it. From our survey, there are apparently few ways these students can use French outside of school; they would like to be more involved in basically French activities, but usually aren't invited; friendships with French-speaking young people are not common or easy to establish; and the majority of both immersion and control students are thinking of moving out of Quebec in the next four years. In spite of current political policies in Quebec that limit the chances of French-speaking Canadian students becoming as competent in English as these immersion students are in French, still there are likely to be numbers of French Canadians who have similar desires for social contacts but who face comparable societal hurdles in their attempts to make contact with the English Canadian society (cf. Gagnon, 1972). From the perspective of both groups, then, we begin to understand how easily ethnic and linguistic segregation can isolate subgroups within a society. In fact, some argue that this is to be expected in complex, ethnically plural nations (see Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972). It could be argued that this societal wariness of social contacts across ethnolinguistic boundaries represents a search for the peace and comfort which come from being in a setting with one's "own kind" (see Lambert, 1978). If this is true, then overly enthusiastic attempts to penetrate these boundaries may be disturbing for both groups. Applied to the Canadian scene, this would mean that young people who have

mastered the other group's language must test cautiously how far and how quickly they can make social contacts that will be acceptable to the other group.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from this investigation of the early immersion experience is that we have been forced to place this innovative form of language training in a broader societal context, leading us to the realization that we must now seek out solutions for the complex but intriguing problems associated with social segregation and cleavage within modern societies. The beginnings of a solution seem to stem naturally from the early immersion experience itself, especially from what the immersion students are asking of their society, namely, opportunities to put their competence in the other language to meaningful use. French Canadian students may be asking the same—that is, similar opportunities for social contact across the common ethnolinguistic boundary. As parents, educators, or political leaders, we must listen to and try to understand what these young people are asking. The solutions needed are likely to be found in the questions being asked. It is our opinion that Canada, especially Quebec, provides us with a wonderful field station for finding solutions, and in our research we can draw on the good will of these two streams of young people. This is not to say that Canada is all that special, because each nation offers equally exciting opportunities.

So look where we end up after probing just one little facet of language. We now have a series of new questions to contend with. In what ways do ethnocentric attitudes hold students back in their attempts to master another language, and how and in what contexts do open and friendly attitudes help? Does getting to *know about* another group and its language improve attitudes or must one get to really *know* the other group? Do we automatically get to *like* others through knowing them or knowing about them? Perhaps we should reconsider what effects social contact actually has on attitudes. If people want to be with "their own kind," thereby contributing to subgroup "solitudes" within society, what can we expect from attempts at integration? How can we prepare people for integration in pluralistic societies? When are people ready for integration, ready in the sense that they will be able to follow through with the respect of others that is called for? Maybe integration is not the answer.

Language and Education

In educational systems there are more unintentional and intentional unfairness and prejudice than most of us want to believe. In many cases, language is involved in this unfairness and often its role is so subtle that we never notice it, as Howard Giles and his colleagues have so splendidly shown (Giles and Powesland, 1975). In Montreal we have also explored some aspects of this. For instance, we now know that the ways students use language, including their accents and styles, elicit biases from teachers that can be devastating. In a study with grade-school youngsters (Frender, Brown, and Lambert, 1970; Frender and Lambert, 1972), we found that teachers judge and grade pupils with reference to their styles of language usage, grading down those whose speech contains those features that are usually found among children from lower social class backgrounds, and grading up those who display stereotyped "proper" features. We were convinced that these were biases because we had objective measures of ability and knowledge of subject matter on these pupils that told a different story. And a teacher can really upset a child's schooling and career by giving poor grades, especially unfair and unfounded poor grades, just as she/he can distort the child's reality by assigning inflated grades. In another study (Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert, 1972) we also found that styles of language usage play a more important role in teachers' evaluations of pupils than do actual written productions of the child, so that a "nice talking" child is given exaggerated credit that overrides a composition or an artistic piece that is independently judged to be only average or poor. At the same time "poor talking" children who present excellent compositions and artwork are likely to lose credit. What is more, these biases of the teacher are apparently picked up by other pupils in the class (cf. S. M. Lambert, 1973). The point I am trying to make here, then, is that it is high time we explored seriously the impact these language-based biases have on the academic and social careers of young people.

. . . young people who have mastered the other group's language must test cautiously how far and how quickly they can make social contacts that will be acceptable to the other group.

We have some good leads to go on. For instance, take the role of language in tests of ability and intelligence. The more I study the path analyses of Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan (1972), the more convinced I am that academic achievement and ultimately occupational achievement are determined by social-class factors as much as, if not more than, by intelligence or ability factors. Daird McClelland (1973) also presents a strong case against these biases that haunt the less advantaged youngster whenever language-related tests are brought into consideration. Over and above the "advantaged" versus the "disadvantaged" speech styles just referred to, we must take into consideration as well the influences of home background that can enhance or suppress skills in verbalization and expression because they carry so much weight in assessments of academic achievement. Furthermore, family "contacts" play important roles in the biases, as when a young person of questionable native ability and/or poor motivation is given summer experiences,

through personal contacts, in a lawyer's office or in a medical laboratory making it almost impossible for him/her not to get into and out of a law school or a medical program, because he/she has learned the lingo of the lawyer or the doctor. Thus we have the responsibility to challenge these forms of unfairness because we are so versed in the ways of language.

Another fascinating lead comes from the current work of Elizabeth Cohen (1979). She finds that a pupil's status among his/her peers within a classroom is determined in large part by an "ability to read": the better the reader, the more status and promise is attributed to him/her. Of course, ability to read is traceable to social-class factors, and again the disadvantaged child suffers in these comparisons. Furthermore, in mixed-ethnic schools, pupils' perceptions of which group has power reflect the extent to which school authorities involve minority-group adults in administrative and teaching posts. It turns out then that pupils' perceptions of power are indirectly linked to their perceptions of status, which in turn are linked to simple judgments of "reading ability." Cohen has devised some valuable ways of combatting these debilitating aspects of being disadvantaged. She refers to these as "status-equiliberating" procedures—for example, having a good reader take on a teaching role to help others improve their reading skills while a poor reader is asked to teach in some other domain of individual expertise (be it needlepoint, basketball dribbling, or making a crystal radio). Thus, through the teacher, these other skills are seen as meriting equal status and appreciation. Similarly, Elizabeth Cohen is also studying ways of improving minority-group children's perceptions of their potential power and status by experimentally varying the proportions of minority-group adults to be found in the administrative and teaching staff of public schools. The main point here is that we too can play decisive roles in following such leads and devising our own modes of combatting these language-related biases in schools.

Language and the Community

In the North American setting, I see two independent movements under way that could be profitably merged. Each is language related and each touches on prejudices and discrimination. One is the marked decline in interest in the study of foreign languages, and the other is the large number of foreign language users who continually come to North America as immigrants and wonder how far they can go in their attempts to keep "old country" languages alive in their families and their communities. I am of the opinion that the decline in language study reflects mainly the feeling that traditional methods of teaching/learning a foreign language are inefficient and wasteful. I don't believe it reflects a lack of interest in foreign languages and foreign peoples, since in the Canadian and American communities where "real life" language learning experiences, like immersion schooling, are offered, large proportions of parents eagerly sign their children up for complete elementary school experiences with a foreign or second language.

Here is my half-baked scheme for bringing these two trends together, thereby offering possible solutions for each of the groups involved. I refer to this as "an alternative to the foreign-language teaching profession," starting with the proposition that foreign- or second-language teaching might be better served if taken out of schools, colleges, and universities and placed in the hands of community "language resource persons" who would be asked to establish programs of "language exchange" in which community members of all ages and all walks of life might serve as both language teachers and language learners. Thus, one person would stand ready to teach English for three hours a week, under the supervision of a master teacher, in exchange for three hours of Italian, Greek, French, or whatever, taught by another person offering his home-language skills, say Greek, in exchange for English, or whatever the other language might be. The point here is that some such community-based "alternative" to the foreign-language teaching profession might be worth trying, and the social psychology of establishing and overseeing such a program could be exciting.

Briefly, this alternative should take the following form:

- It should set its sights on cultural and linguistic diversity at home—for example, on hyphenated-Americans or -Canadians—rather than exclusively on peoples and languages in faraway countries.
- It should be designed for a broad base of students representing all walks of life, not exclusively for the college-oriented elite.
- It should be geared for children from the earliest grades on.
- It should provide a high degree of competence in the languages taught, for instance the attainment of functional bilinguality, literary as well as audiolingual.
- It should make learning of languages no more important than learning about other peoples and their ways of life.
- The master teachers and administrators of the alternative should become fully trained in the behavioral sciences so that they can effectively teach about people's ways of life along with the languages.
- In the alternative, language maintenance and bilinguality should be presented as the maintenance of precious national resources so that immigrants turning to the center can feel free to be as Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish, or whatever as they want to be, at the same time they become as American or Canadian as they want to be. My guess is that if they are in contact with Americans or Canadians wanting to become Portuguese or Japanese through their interest in these languages, then they in turn will want to be American or Canadian too, as well as Portuguese or Japanese, or whatever.

There is already a fascinating example of a closely related project underway in New England under the super-

vision of Susan Thomas and Rosa Díaz (1977). They refer to their program as "language sharing" wherein teenagers from Italian, Greek, Spanish, or Japanese homes in and around Boston are asked to take a special course in language arts. There they are introduced to the idea that they are to share their home language with groups of children a few years younger than themselves, under the supervision of a master teacher whose task it is to teach them how to teach and to work out with them a program that will be interesting to the younger pupils. The course runs all year and the adolescent "junior teachers" are provided materials that give a structure, but the details are worked out individually. Often gross inadequacies in the adolescent's home language have to be resolved at home or with the help of specialists. Pilot testing of the idea is underway and the results are heartening, for not only do the adolescents learn to respect and appreciate a home language that typically had been neglected, but they also seem to get thoroughly caught up in the teaching role and school in general. The younger pupils also seem to accept enthusiastically the language that is being shared with them. There is no end to what the psychologists of language could do with such an idea.

Language and Society

Finally, at a broader societal level there is an important phenomenon running its course that is also based on feelings of injustice and social neglect, namely the widespread demand of social subgroups, as in Scotland, Wales, Brittany, French Canada, and Puerto Rico, for political and social "independence" or "separation" from the larger nations with which they have been associated. The contributions that we can make in this case can take many forms. For instance, we could explore in detail the sentiments and feelings of those who opt for separation and search for the motivational roots of such sentiments. My guess is that separatist feelings are an exaggeration of the all-too-human belief that one's own cultural and/or linguistic group is distinctive and unique, the difference being that in this instance the separatist is worried, often justifiably so, that this distinctiveness is being threatened. In my experience, there typically is a marked degree of ethnocentrism, coupled with a certain amount of xenophobia and paranoia, associated with separatist feelings. Because these sentiments seem to depend so much on beliefs in the distinctiveness of one's culture and language, one might be tempted to challenge these beliefs on logical and empirical grounds so that an alternative view could be at least considered—that cultures may not be as discrete as most people think and that neither culture nor language may in fact have all that much impact on either personality styles or thought (see Lambert, 1979). On these matters, emotions tend to cloud thinking so that language and dialect distinctiveness, which are real enough, often carry with them all the excess meaning associated with "culture." Thus, the claim that "We must fight for the maintenance of our language and culture" may be no more than a demand for language rights, since so much or so little may be implied by "culture."

But the world is not ready for logic of this sort, especially since the empirical facts about culture similarities are, as yet, few and far between. Instead we have to take seriously the common belief that language and culture shape unique styles of thought and personality, and we must study how such beliefs become exaggerated in the move for separation. In fact, I have been amazed, in my survey of recent research, to find just how important a role language plays in personal identity, in intergroup relations, and in group-to-society relations. Because of the importance attached to language, we should not be surprised to find widespread fears among various groups about the possibilities of losing their "language and culture" in this modern, English-dominated world. These types of fears seem to be as common among recent immigrants as among ethnolinguistic groups of long-term residency (see Lambert, 1979; Taylor, Meynard, and Rheault, 1977). Thinking along these lines has prompted a group of us at McGill to make a distinction between a "subtractive" form of bilingualism wherein an ethnolinguistic minority group, in attempting to master a prestigious national or international language, may actually set aside or "subtract out" for good the home language, and an "additive" form wherein members of a high prestige linguistic community can easily, and with no fear of jeopardizing home language competence, "add" one or more other languages to their repertoire of skills, reaping benefits of various sorts from their bilinguality. Since the subtractive route typically leads to the neglect of the home language, sometimes to "semilingualism" (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976), and often to poor chances of success in academic pursuits, a great deal of attention must be directed to attempts to convert or transform subtractive linguistic experiences to additive ones.

In what ways do ethnocentric attitudes hold students back in their attempts to master another language, and how and in what contexts do open and friendly attitudes help?

So far we have few examples of how such transformation can be carried out (see Lambert, 1979), but for a Franco-American community in northern Maine and a Hispanic American community in the San Diego area, the possibilities of circumventing the debilitating aspects of being an ethnolinguistic minority are promising. Essentially, these attempts at transformation provide children of ethnolinguistic minority groups the chance of being schooled in their home language for a substantial part of the curriculum, thereby permitting them to keep up with course content in a comfortable language and developing reading and writing as well as audiolingual skills in that language. Simultaneously we have found

that the youngsters develop a deep appreciation for the home language and pride in being Franco-American or Hispanic American which is not reflected in the control children who do not have the opportunity for home-language instruction. As signs appear that the home language is being thoroughly mastered, then we propose that a separate program of English "language arts" in the form of immersion instruction by native speakers of English be introduced as early as possible. Thus the important goal of bilingual development is met through separated monolingual routes wherein preference in time and order is given to the likely-to-be-neglected home language. The assumption underlying this approach is that minority-group members will be more prompted to embrace and identify with the prestigious national language and the associated society once it is clear that children with other-than-English home backgrounds are given a program that (a) keeps them up with national norms on the all-important content matter, and (b) reflects a respect for the home language, which can come to be seen as a valuable national resource worth protecting, and a respect for the ethnic group itself which permits members to be themselves, through the maintenance of their language and their "distinctive" style of life. To the extent that Anglo youngsters in the community take the opportunity to "add" French or Spanish or whatever to their repertoires, then the possibilities for developing a genuinely bilingual society open up. It is at this point that viable bilingual education programs can be planned and organized.

The main point of this example is that an educational program that speaks to the feelings of neglect, to the fears of language and culture loss, and to the marginality that so often characterizes ethnolinguistic minority groups may also speak to many of the underlying concerns of separatists. A question remains, however, as to the adequacy of such programs, because the roots of separatism and independence may be much deeper than we think. We end up, therefore, with the need for those of us involved with the psychology of language to turn our attention to broad sociopolitical issues that impinge on language in society. Whether or not we think of these issues as within our field of expertise, they apparently are becoming part of our field. Thus, we must begin to contend with questions of a new sort. If we become champions of minority languages, whether from a Leninist or a liberalist political position, may we not be running the risk of marking and isolating ethnolinguistic minority groups and thereby exposing them to exploitation and segregation? And how are we to respond to the assimilationism involved in statements like: "If my ancestors came here and gave up the old-country language, that's the way it should be!" or "How can we ever have unity in this country with all these different languages going strong?"

For my part, I am finding help in the writings of two important theorists, Jean-François Revel (1972) and Karl Popper (1966). Revel is a modern-day revolutionist who argues very convincingly that any social movement which is directed toward greater freedom and justice automatically engenders conflict and tension, including conflicts between and within ethnolinguistic groups, but that by working through conflicts, new and fairer forms of society can be forged. Revel believes that only in America has history provided all the right conditions for this new society to emerge. Popper provides me with a philosophy of the "open society" and of its enemies who flame defeatist attitudes and separatist sentiments by promises of conflict-free utopias, set aside from the real world, where things will be like they were "in the good old days." My point here is that we have to learn to handle change and conflict as we proceed in our work and learn to fight against the enemies of open societies.

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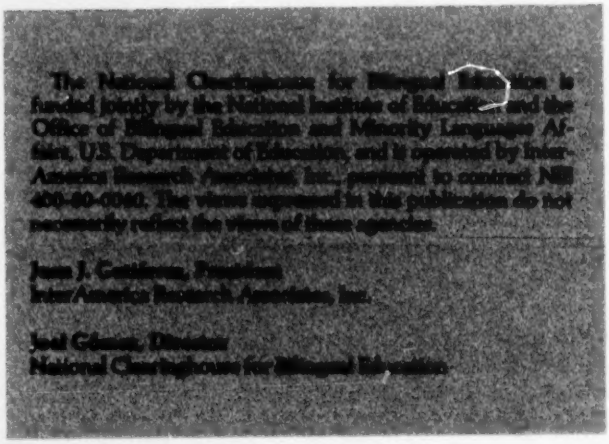
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